462 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger
476 ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it does not act jointly otherwise.

462 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

[243]

1. A poor district, such as the vicinity of Takalar where plantings frequently have to be done several times because the first attempts fail, constitutes an exception. There the women help with planting.

● [443] Older women who need a job on the side, sell home-made cookies at pasars and festivals. Sometimes they keep a small coffee warong /shop/.

177 462 At the present time a comparatively large number of these activities have been taken away from the women. [283] Spinning practically no longer occurs. Commercial yarns have taken the place of homespun products. During the Japanese period a temporary revival of spinning was note in a number of districts where the imported yarns could not fill the demand. [286] Weaving decreased because of the large import of cheap sarongs. Only better ones continued to be woven at home. [252] Where rice mills are established, pounding at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
[256]

/144 cont./ 2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.

The spare time which women gained was not used toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls is always with them. During the rest of the time women visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense, from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be cut down or worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and

1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

443 462 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 562 The activities of men and women therefore complement each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 554 576 571 521 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 562 571 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression. Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua. M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads. M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over" M 471 443 563 M 461 463 C 647 563 152 829

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

167 563 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 574 203 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 828 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 206 207 As for communication there have been a few changes. This is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The

205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-

203 204 178 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the Information Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 504 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 186 829 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard
563 something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
161 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
582 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

and the five days circulate around them. Then, another circle runs east into the Tanette Riatang wanua, where there are four markets in different kampongs. That circle gears in with the big market at Watumpone too. 443 366

I asked whether the range of distance from which the people come to market has increased with the use of buses. They said that it probably had. They also mentioned bicycles as another easing factor in getting to the market place. 489 493

As for education, much discussion resulted. Andi in particular seemed to be critical of the educational possibilities here. He said they would like to progress, but were unable to. They have only lower, and I think, middle schools in Watumpone. However, they are building another school now. Up to this month schools have been free, and the children have thronged to classes. But Andi said that now they expected a sharp drop. He said that if they charged even five cents a month it would be too much for many. (Later Thierens said that he doubted this and also that there was so little money in the kampong. He added that they could get jobs as coolies as there was a big demand for this type of labor. For example, they could work on roads at f.50 a month. The point seems to be, however, that they do not want to. He has a dim view of their energy, and perhaps he is right.) No one in the kampong has attended the University. Some have gone to middle school and many have attended lower school. Quite a few (?), relatively speaking, have gone to Makassar, and they must do so if they wish to get further education, for example, by going to normal school (except for the teachers school for the villages in Watumpone). Evidently, few, if any, go outside of Indonesia for education. 871 434 464

There are Mohammedan schools in the village. I asked about their support. They said that the arus gave money from their own funds, and also got some contributions. They received no money from the Bone treasury. At this point they became irritated, saying that in South Celebes if schools are Christian they get a subsidy from the treasury, but this is not so if the schools are Mohammedan. (Maybe they meant that the government schools should be included too when they said, "why should not the religious (Mohammedan) schools get funds too, since this is a Mohammedan country?") Anyway, there is a great deal of feeling on this matter. Formerly there was much feeling against education, and there still is to some extent, especially by the lowers. But, increasingly, more and more want it. I told what I had heard about even the radjas not wanting their children to go to Makassar for more than a few years. They said that that was generally so, and Andi again said that Bone is quite backward. 871 578

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

4216 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f. 30 per month, and one meal costs about f. 1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f. 1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
492 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.